

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SAM-01 PM-07 NSC-07

SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01 AECE-00 AEC-11 OMB-01 CIAE-00

INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PRS-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

DRC-01 /122 W

----- 094901

P R 141221Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1988

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2264

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: PLENARY PRESENTATION ON VERIFICATION
AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESENTATION ON VERIFICATION
AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION TO BE MADE BY LUXEMBOURG REP (WINTER)
IN PLENARY MARCH 14, AS APPROVED BY AD HOC GROUP
MARCH 13:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE LAST THREE PRESENTATIONS BY WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES
WERE DEVOTED TO STABILIZING MEASURES, ONE CATEGORY OF
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ASSOCIATED MEASURES WHICH CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT

IN OUR APPROACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS. I WOULD LIKE TODAY TO TURN TO TWO ADDITIONAL CATEGORIES OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES, WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL BE NECESSARY ELEMENTS OF ANY REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. THESE ARE MEASURES PROVIDING FOR VERIFICATION OF ADHERENCE TO THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS.

2. BY BELGIAN COLLEAGUE DISCUSSED THESE SUBJECTS IN HIS PRESENTATION OF NOVEMBER 15. IN THAT PRESENTATION HE DESCRIBED THE IMPORTANCE TO ALL PARTICIPANTS OF CONFIDENCE THAT ANY AGREEMENT REACHED WOULD BE SCRUPULOUSLY ADHERED TO. HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS THAT THIS OBJECTIVE CALLED FOR VERIFICATION MEASURES WHICH WOULD BE SEEN TO BE EFFECTIVE BOTH BY GOVERNMENTS AND BY THEIR RESPECTIVE PEOPLES.

3. MY BELGIAN COLLEAGUE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH WE ASCRIBE TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS. HE DEFINED ACTIVITIES CIRCUMVENTING THE AGREEMENT AS THOSE WHICH, WITHOUT NECESSARILY INFRINGING THE LETTER OF THE OBLIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN, UNDERMINE THEIR EFFECTIVENESS.

4. IN THEIR OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS PRESENTED BY THE US REPRESENTATIVE ON NOVEMBER 22, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED THEIR CONVICTION THAT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED ON MEASURES WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR APPROPRIATE VERIFICATION AND ON PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD ENSURE THAT REDUCTIONS AGREEMENTS ONCE REACHED, WERE NEITHER CIRCUMVENTED NOR UNDERMINED.

5. I WOULD LIKE FIRST TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF VERIFICATION. IN DUE COURSE, WE WILL PRESENT CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR MEASURES TO VERIFY THE AGREEMENTS WE NEGOTIATE; IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO DO SO AT THIS TIME. THE DETAILS OF VERIFICATION MEASURES SHOULD BE WORKED OUT AFTER AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE BASIC FORM OF THE PROVISIONS WHICH THEY ARE DESIGNED TO VERIFY. TODAY, RATHER, I WOULD LIKE TO ENLARGE IN A GENERAL WAY UPON WESTERN VIEWS ABOUT THIS SUBJECT.

6. BOTH SIDES ACCEPT THE NEED FOR VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE
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WITH THE AGREEMENT WHICH WE HOPE TO REACH IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS CLEAR FROM WHAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SAID THAT THEY SHARE WITH US A RECOGNITION THAT THE QUESTION OF HOW VERIFICATION IS TO BE CARRIED OUT MUST BE DECIDED.

7. THE NECESSITY FOR VERIFICATION IS ESPECIALLY GREAT SINCE ANY REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT WE REACH WILL AFFECT THE FUNDAMENTAL

SECURITY OF OUR POPULATION. IT IS THEREFORE UNDERSTANDABLE THAT, AS MY BELGIAN COLLEAGUE POINTED OUT, THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE VERIFICATION MEASURES HAS BEEN A MAJOR FEATURE OF PAST DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL.

8. IT IS AN EVIDENT NECESSITY THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD HAVE THE MEANS TO ASSURE THAT THE OTHER IS ABIDING BY THE AGREEMENT. TO FULFILL THIS CONDITION, WE SHOULD PROVIDE FOR VERIFICATION WHICH WILL PROVIDE ASSURANCES OF COMPLIANCE FOR AS LONG AS THE AGREEMENT IS IN EFFECT.

9. THE AGREEMENT WE ARE NEGOTIATING HERE WOULD PROVIDE FOR REDUCTIONS AND ENSUING LIMITATIONS WHICH, IF NOT COMPLIED WITH, COULD GIVE A MILITARY ADVANTAGE TO THE PARTY OR PARTIES, WHICH FAILED TO COMPLY. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL ALSO RECOGNIZES, AS MUST ANY PROPOSAL DEALING WITH SUCH MATTERS OF VITAL CONCERN TO THE PARTICIPANTS, THAT THERE EXISTS THE POSSIBILITY OF VIOLATIONS AND THAT THIS POSSIBILITY MUST BE OF CONCERN TO THE PARTICIPANTS. HOWEVER, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE NOT YET ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF HOW COMPLIANCE WITH THESE TERMS WOULD BE VERIFIED.

10. WE BELIEVE THAT ADEQUATE VERIFICATION IS ESSENTIAL TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF VIOLATIONS. INDEED, ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN THE PARTICIPANTS BE REASONABLY ASSURED THAT THE AGREEMENT IS BEING ADHERED TO. THE STABILITY OF EUROPE WOULD BE ENHANCED BY, AND INDEED REQUIRES, THE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE WHICH WOULD RESULT.

11. MOREOVER, ADEQUATE VERIFICATION OF REDUCTIONS AND ENSUING LIMITATIONS WOULD INCREASE THE CONFIDENCE OF EACH SIDE THAT IT WOULD HAVE ADEQUATE WARNING OF ANY ATTEMPTED SURPRISE ATTACK. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE CHANCE OF SUCH CONFIDENTIAL

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AN ATTACK WOULD BE REDUCED.

12. IN SHORT, ADEQUATE VERIFICATION MEASURES WOULD ENHANCE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE, WHILE REDUCTIONS WITHOUT VERIFICATION MIGHT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES ACTUALLY DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS. IT FOLLOWS THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THE PARTIES TO AN AGREEMENT WOULD REFRAIN FROM DELIBERATELY IMPEDING ITS VERIFICATION.

13. IT IS IN THE NATURE OF AN AGREEMENT SUCH AS THE ONE WHICH IT IS OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE TO NEGOTIATE THAT THERE WOULD BE PROVISIONS FOR REDUCTIONS OF FORCES AND OTHER PROVISIONS, INCLUDING LIMITATIONS ON THE LEVELS OF FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. BOTH THE CARRYING OUT OF REDUCTIONS AND

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SAM-01 PM-07 NSC-07

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CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PRS-01 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 /122 W

----- 094300

P R 141221Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1989

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 2264

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

SUBSEQUENT ADHERENCE TO THE CONTINUING OBLIGATIONS CONSEQUENT
UPON THE REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO VERIFICATION.

14. MR. CHAIRMAN, HAVING DISCUSSED THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
VERIFICATION AND MENTIONED SOME OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH
MEASURES DESIGNED TO PROVIDE FOR VERIFICATION WOULD MAKE TO
THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR AGREEMENT, I WOULD NOW LIKE TO DISCUSS
THE WAYS IN WHICH MY COLLEAGUES AND I ENVISAGE THAT THESE
REQUIREMENTS SHOULD BE MET.

15. NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION WOULD CONTRIBUTE
GREATLY TO CONFIDENCE THAT THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS ARE ABIDING
BY THE AGREEMENT. WE THEREFORE PROPOSE THAT ALL PARTIES SHOULD
AGREE NOT TO INTERFERE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF

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VERIFICATION.

16. WE ALSO PROPOSE THAT MEASURES PROVIDING FOR NEGOTIATED INSPECTION BY OBSERVERS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTION AGREEMENTS. SUCH MEASURES WOULD COMPLEMENT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION AND WOULD PROVIDE GREATER ASSURANCE OF ADHERENCE TO THE AGREEMENT BY PROVIDING PERSPECTIVES AND INFORMATION NOT OBTAINABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

17. THE DETAILS OF SUCH MEASURES SHOULD, AS I HAVE INDICATED EARLIER, AWAIT GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE FORM AND DIMENSIONS OF REDUCTIONS THEMSELVES. HOWEVER, IT IS CLEAR IN ANY EVENT THAT VERIFICATION OF REDUCTIONS AGREEMENTS WILL CALL FOR NEGOTIATED INSPECTION.

18. IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT, ALTHOUGH THE MEASURES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN A FASHION THAT ENABLES EACH SIDE TO ASSURE ITSELF OF THE OBSERVANCE OF THE REDUCTION AGREEMENT, THEY SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO INVOLVE ANY INTERFERENCE IN MILITARY ACTIVITIES ON EITHER SIDE OR IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE COUNTRIES IN WHICH THEY ARE BEING CARRIED OUT.

19. AGREEMENT TO INCLUDE SUCH MEASURES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO BUILDING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN THAT IT WOULD CONSTITUTE MUTUAL RECOGNITION BY EACH SIDE THAT VERIFICATION OF THE AGREEMENT WAS AN IMPORTANT AND LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF ALL OF THE PARTIES. FURTHERMORE, MEASURES SUCH AS THESE WOULD BE USEFUL IN THAT THEY COULD BE CITED TO REASSURE OUR PUBLICS AND PARLIAMENTS ABOUT STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT.

10. I WOULD NOW LIKE TO REITERATE THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PROVISIONS TO ENSURE THAT THE AGREEMENT WE WILL REACH IS NOT CIRCUMVENTED. THE AGREEMENT REACHED HERE WILL EMBODY CERTAIN OBJECTIVES -- A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE -- COMMON TO ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT WILL BE DESIGNED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACHIEVING THESE OBJECTIVES. IT IS EVIDENT THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT SHOULD BE FORMULATED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PRECLUDE ACTIVITIES WHICH UNDERMINE THE COMMON OBJECTIVES. EXPERIENCE

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HAS SHOWN THAT HOWEVER CLEARLY AGREEMENTS ARE FORMULATED, THEY

CANNOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ALL ACTIVITIES WHICH MIGHT HAVE THE EFFECT, WHETHER INTENTIONALLY OR NOT, OF UNDERMINING THESE OBJECTIVES. PARTIES SHOULD, THEREFORE, CLEARLY UNDERTAKE TO CARRY OUT BOTH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENT WE REACH.

21. WHILE IT IS TOO EARLY TO PROPOSE ANY SPECIFIC MEASURES TO DEAL WITH THIS SUBJECT, WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEED FOR SUCH PROVISIONS SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS. SUCH PROVISIONS WOULD COMMIT ALL PARTIES TO AVOIDANCE OF ACTIVITIES THE EFFECT OF WHICH WOULD BE TO UNDERMINE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE OBJECTIVES.

22. MR. CHAIRMAN, I BELIVE THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS ALREADY RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO VERIFY THE AGREEMENT WE REACH HERE AND TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT IT WILL NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED. ANY DIFFERENCES AMONG US ON THESE SUBJECTS, IF DIFFERENCES THERE ARE, WILL BE OVER MEANS RATHER THAN OVER ENDS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS APPARENT THAT THE DETAILS OF THE MEASURES RELATING TO THESE SUBJECTS CANNOT BE NEGOTIATED AT THIS STAGE IN OUR WORK. MY COLLEAGUES AND I BELIEVE, AT THE SAME TIME, THAT OUR IMMEDIATE TASK WILL BE FACILITATED IF WE BEAR IN MIND THE POINTS WHICH I HAVE JUST ENUNCIATED.
END TEXT. HUMES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TROOP REDUCTIONS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, FORCE & TROOP LEVELS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 MAR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974VIENNA02264
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740342/aaaabngm.tel
Line Count: 300
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 MAR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <02 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: PLENARY PRESENTATION ON VERIFICATION AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005